

## ARMENIAN WRITERS IN MEDIEVAL JERUSALEM<sup>1</sup>

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The Armenian community of Jerusalem has its beginning in early Byzantine monasticism. By the sixth century there were spacious Armenian monasteries around the city, as the ruins with several inscriptions in mosaic floors found on the Mount of Olives to the east and in the vicinity of Damascus Gate to the north indicate.<sup>2</sup> These monasteries must have suffered the fate of nearly all such buildings and churches in the Holy Land during the devastating invasion in 614 by Khosrow II of Persia (590-628). The boundaries of the present-day Armenian Quarter, covering nearly a sixth of the Old City at the southwestern corner and around the monastery of St. James, were fairly well established by the end of the eleventh century. And the community thrived under the Crusaders.<sup>3</sup> Unlike other communities in the Armenian diaspora, and those in Armenia as well, the Jerusalem community was seldom disturbed and hardly ever

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<sup>1</sup> A shorter version of this paper was read at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, November 11-13, 1993, Research Triangle Park, NC. In its expanded form I dedicate it to my early mentor, Archbishop Norayr Bogharian, on his ninetieth birthday. This paper could not have been written without his overwhelming contribution to Armenian studies.

<sup>2</sup> For an illustrated description of these floors, see Bezalel Narkiss, "The Armenian Treasures of Jerusalem," in *Armenian Art Treasures of Jerusalem*, ed. Bezalel Narkiss (New Rochelle, NY: Caratzas Brothers, 1979), pp. 21-28. Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *The Holy Land: An Archaeological Guide from Earliest Times to 1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 106, has this to say about the one in the Damascus Gate vicinity: "this mosaic floor is perhaps the most beautiful in the whole country." Additional discoveries in more recent years have revealed the extensiveness of this site. For a fine study on the dominant motif of birds, see Helen Evans, "Nonclassical Sources for the Armenian Mosaic Near the Damascus Gate in Jerusalem," in *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period*, ed. Nina G. Garsoïan et al. (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1982), pp. 217-222.

<sup>3</sup> Joshua Prawer, "The Armenians in Jerusalem under the Crusaders," in *Armenian and Biblical Studies*, ed. Michael E. Stone (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1976), pp. 222-235. Unfortunately, there is but one passing reference, and that only to the location of the Armenian Quarter, in M.A. Hiyari, "Crusader Jerusalem 1099-1187 A.D.," in *Jerusalem in History*, ed. K.J. Asali (Brooklyn, NY: Olive Branch Press, 1990), pp. 130-171; note especially p. 144.

displaced from its present Quarter.<sup>4</sup> Its continuity enabled it to flourish as a religious and learning center and to become territorially the largest monastic establishment in the medieval city.

Part of this historic legacy today is the collection of nearly four thousand medieval manuscripts at St. James, recently catalogued by Archbishop Norayr Bogharian.<sup>5</sup> These include scores of texts identified by him as having some unique content.<sup>6</sup> Nearly half of these were penned locally, and a few of them were written by local chronographers, liturgists, lexicographers, and poets. The rest are copies of broadly spread religious works, yet with occasional colophons attached by the scribes vividly recounting contemporary and near-contemporary events and encounters with other Christian as well as non-Christian entities. Unfortunately, however, these special manuscripts and others in the larger collection that were penned locally have not attracted the scholarly attention they deserve, in spite of the fact that the careful cataloguer has provided the full colophons of nearly all manuscripts. To these works may be added the scores of other codices copied in Jerusalem and now kept elsewhere among other collections of ancient Armenian manuscripts.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Armenian clergy in Jerusalem were persecuted during the Mamluk reprisals against the Franks for attacks on Alexandria (1365-1369), and the St. James Monastery was temporarily seized by the Greek Orthodox Church (1658-1659); information obtained from colophons: Jerusalem manuscripts 122, pp. 975-978; and 16, pp. 1310-1314. The first of these colophons is comparable with that of Erevan manuscript 7091, on which see L.S. Khach'ikyan, *ZhD Dari Hayeren Dzeḡagrerī Hishatakaranner* (Armenian Colophons of Fourteenth-Century Manuscripts) (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1950), p. 473. A history of later conflicts over sacred sites, including the St. James Monastery, is found in Jerusalem manuscript 3825.

<sup>5</sup> N. Bogharian [Pogharian], *Grand Catalogue of St. James Manuscripts*, 11 vols. (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1966-1991); all in Armenian.

<sup>6</sup> Note especially the following pages for lists enumerating some 380 particular texts provided by the cataloguer: 1:651; 2:647; 3:621; 4:667-668; 5:xiv-xv; 6:xiv-xv; 7:xxvii; 8:xiv-xv; 9:xiv; 10:xii; 11:471. For a history of the collection, see M.E. Stone, "The Manuscript Library of the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem," *Israel Exploration Journal* 19 (1969), pp. 20-43, also published separately, with the same title (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1969).

<sup>7</sup> The major repositories are the Matenadaran in Erevan, the Mekhitarist Libraries in Venice and Vienna, and the All-Savior Cathedral in New Julfa. For the respective catalogues, see O. Eganyan, A. Zeyt'unyan, and P'. Ant'abyan, *Ts'uts'ak dzeḡagrats' Mashtots'i anvan matenadarani* (Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library Named after Mashtots'), 2 vols. (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1965-1970, currently being revised with expanded descriptions); Barsegh Sargisian and Grigor Sargsian, *Mayr ts'uts'ak hayerēn dzeḡagrats' matenadaranin Mkhit'areants' i Venetik* (Grand Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the Library of the Mekhitarists in Venice), 2 vols. (Venice: S. Ghazar, 1914-1924; a 3rd vol., *Mashtots'-Girk' dzeḡnadrut'eanits'*, was published in 1966); Hagovpos V. Dashian, *Catalog der armenischen*

With an effort to contextualize these medieval manuscripts at St. James, I shall explore briefly the Armenian literary activity in Jerusalem from Byzantine times onward, through the wider gateway the Cilician Kingdom and the Crusades opened to the Holy City. In this short survey I shall account for the learned ecclesiastics who resided there for some time during these centuries—whether as members of the monastic brotherhood or as pilgrims—and on whose writings the time spent in Jerusalem appears to have had an indubitable impact.

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The earliest Armenian document written in Jerusalem is the letter of Grigor, Bishop of the Artsrunis (ca. 500-570).<sup>8</sup> This letter, written ca. 560 and sent to followers in Armenia, stresses the necessity of celebrating Candlemas or Penthesis, a festival in honor of the purification of the Virgin Mary and the presentation of the infant Christ in the Temple forty days after His birth (*Teaṛnēdaṛaj*), on the traditional day, the fourteenth of February. Grigor begins by referring to an imperial letter sent by Justinian I (527-565), in the thirty-third year of his reign, to the Patriarch Justus and the rest of the bishops in Jerusalem ordering them to combine the feast day with that of the birth of Christ on the twenty-fifth of December. Grigor encourages his followers not to yield to revisionist Byzantine pressures under Justinian. To underscore the veracity of the traditional date, he speaks of a great miracle on Mount Zion that day, water streaming from a pillar, while services were held (presumably in the Martyrium of St. Stephen) in defiance of the imperial order. He goes on to describe the defiant celebrations led by the Patriarch Macarius a year later. While offering the Eucharist, the celebrant bishop saw a vision which he then recounted: an angel coming from Golgotha and hitting his right arm against the second pillar of the Martyrium, leaving on it an imprint of the nailed right arm of Christ, which the people could see; even more, an image of the Blessed Virgin with the Child holding a crimson

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*Handschriften in der Mechitaristen-Bibliothek zu Wien* (Vienna: Mechitaristen-Buchdr., 1895; a 2nd vol., bearing the same title and covering manuscripts 574-1304, prepared by H. Oskian, was published in 1963; both volumes provide German summaries of the descriptions); and Smbat Tēr-Awetisian, *Ts'uts'ak hayerēn dzeṛagrats' Nor Jughayi Amenap'rkich' Vank'i* (Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the Monastery of All-Savior in New Julfa), 2 vols. (Vienna: Mkhit'arean Tparan, 1970-1972). All in Armenian.

<sup>8</sup> A critical text of the document, based on Jerusalem manuscripts 3152 (A), 71 (B), 1A (C), 154A (D), 764 (E), has been edited by N. Bogharian [Pogharian], "T'uḡht' yErusaghemē i Hays vasn Teaṛnēdaṛajin" (An Epistle from Jerusalem to the Armenians Regarding the Penthesis), *Sion* (1964), pp. 33-36.

cross in His right hand, and the same crimson cross appearing on every pillar. Many of those who witnessed the miracle were healed that day. Grigor cites the dramatic experience of a crippled Armenian woman from Mok named Soghovmē who was healed after she crawled toward the pillar on which were revealed the images of the right hand of the Lord and of the Virgin with the Child. Soghovmē stood erect as with faith she embraced that pillar, whereupon she and all those present began to praise God in unison.

The historicity of this document is verifiable in the development of the Jerusalem liturgy as well as in the history of Imperial meddling in Church affairs under Justinian I; for indeed, in the fifteenth year of his reign (542) Justinian ordered the observance of the feast of Pentecost at Constantinople as a thanksgiving for the cessation of a plague at Christmas time.<sup>9</sup> Apparently, it took another fifteen years for the new feast day to become an issue in Jerusalem and perhaps in other parts of the Empire. Moreover, the document clearly indicates that in Jerusalem these festal services were still being held not only on the traditional date but also at the traditional site: in the Martyrium on Mount Zion, as indicated in the Armenian Lectionary (*Chashots'*) of the fifth century (preferred text in Jerusalem manuscript 121, p. 71)<sup>10</sup> and no longer in the Holy Anastasis, as described by the fourth-century pilgrim Egeria in her travel account (*Peregrinatio*, 26).<sup>11</sup> With rare exceptions, the close harmony between Egeria's memoirs and the services in the old Armenian Lectionary, the foremost of the early Jerusalem Lectionaries extant, have long been noted in "Egeriana" scholarship.<sup>12</sup> The old Armenian Lectionary was translated from Greek

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<sup>9</sup> See "Candlemas" in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., ed. F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 229. At a later time the feast was observed there on the second of February (see E. de Moreau, "L'Orient et Rome dans la fête du 2 février," *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 62 [1935], pp. 5-20).

<sup>10</sup> (Dom) A. Renoux, "Un manuscrit du vieux lectionnaire arménien de Jérusalem (Cod. Jerus. arm. 121)," *Le Muséon* 74 (1961), pp. 361-385; id., "Errata et Corrigenda," *Le Muséon* 75 (1962), pp. 385-389; id., *Le Codex Arménien, Jerusalem 121*, *Patrologia Orientalis* 35, fascicle 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969); and id., *Le Lectionnaire de Jérusalem en Arménie: Le Čaşoc'*, *Patrologia Orientalis* 44, fascicle 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1989).

<sup>11</sup> For an English translation of Egeria's memoirs, with a substantial chapter on the old Armenian Lectionary followed by an annotated outline of its contents comparing them with Egeria's descriptions, see John Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land*, rev. ed. (Jerusalem: Ariel; Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1981), especially pp. 253-277.

<sup>12</sup> For a brief survey, see Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, p. 253. The striking harmony between Egeria's account and the old Armenian Lectionary is to be seen at the outset, in the vigils of Epiphany and Easter: Armenians in Byzantine

between 417 and 438 and most likely in Jerusalem: it follows the early Jerusalem tradition for the services there, its injunctions are for use in Jerusalem primarily, and the last saint it commemorates is Bishop John of Jerusalem who died in 417.<sup>13</sup> Although the translation from Greek does not require that it was done at Jerusalem, there is no good reason to reject the possibility since the use of the complete Jerusalem Lectionary was geographically limited; its use elsewhere in the Greek-speaking church was limited to the lections or Bible readings, and that is how it was transmitted after the fifth century.<sup>14</sup> The time and place of the Armenian translation of this complete Lectionary have overwhelming implications not only for the Byzantine liturgical tradition in Jerusalem but also for the religious life and the literary activities of Armenians there at that time.<sup>15</sup>

Also worth mentioning here, as we proceed chronologically, are the three eyewitness accounts by seventh-century Armenian pilgrims to various sites in the Holy Land—even though they do not account for any scholarly activity in Jerusalem during this early period. A vivid description of Mount Tabor by an anonymous pilgrim, found at the end of *Haynut' iwn Teārñ i T'ap'ōr Leřin* (The Epiphany of the Lord on Mount Tabor), has been wrongly attributed to Eghishē in *Srboy horn meroy Eghishēi Vardapeti Matenagrut' iwnk'* (Writings of Our Holy Father

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Jerusalem held each of the eight-day services after Epiphany at various churches in and around the city, the last being held in the Holy Anastasis; so were also the services of the Great Week.

<sup>13</sup> On the date of the Armenian translation, see Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, p. 254.

<sup>14</sup> See Robert F. Taft, "Lectionary," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols., ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan et al. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 2:1201.

<sup>15</sup> Avedis K. Sanjian heightens the possibility for an Armenian scriptorium there in the fifth century, *The Armenian Communities in Syria under Ottoman Dominion* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), pp. 4 and 314 n. 16; id., "The Armenian Communities of Jerusalem," in Narkiss, *Armenian Art Treasures*, pp. 11-12. Adding to this conclusion is a questionable colophon (published by Garegin Zarp'analian, *Matenadaran Haykakan t'argmanut' eants' nakhneats'* [Library of Ancient Armenian Translations] [Venice: S. Ghazar, 1889], p. 286) purporting to be from the middle of the fifth century and the year in which Mashtots' died (450), found in a manuscript of the year 1403 containing a translation of Athanasius' *Vita Antonii* "translated in the holy city Jerusalem." But see the more cautious assessments of the evidence by (Catholicos) Garegin Hovsep'ian, *Hishatakarank' dzeřagrats'* (Colophons of Manuscripts) (Antelias: Kat'oghikosut' iwn Hayots' Kilikioy, 1951), add. no. 1 (cols. 1019-1020). See also Stone, "The Manuscript Library," pp. 26-27.

Eghishē Vardapet).<sup>16</sup> A description of churches in Jerusalem and its vicinity, Bethlehem, and the Jordan Valley by the hermit Hovsep' of Arts'akh, preserved in *Patmut'wn Aghuanits' Ashkharhi* (History of the [Caucasian] Albanians, 2.50-51) by Movsēs Kaghankat'uats'i or Das-khurants'i, has been known in Holy Land studies for a century.<sup>17</sup> So is also the report to Vahan Mamikonean by Anastas Vardapet Akořets'i (ca. 636-650; Catholicos 661-667), recounting his visit to the Armenian and Albanian monasteries in and around Jerusalem, likewise preserved by Kaghankat'uats'i (*History*, 2.52).<sup>18</sup> Serious questions persist, however, regarding the reliability of this report in its redacted form.

According to the "Autobiography" of Anania Shirakats'i, a seventh-century sage and prolific author who wrote some twenty treatises covering every aspect of the sciences known in the early Middle Ages (corresponding to the second division or the *Quadrivium* of the medieval curriculum), he came to Jerusalem before continuing to Alexandria and Constantinople.<sup>19</sup> This was before "the father of the exact sciences in Armenia,"

<sup>16</sup> Robert W. Thomson, "A Seventh-Century Armenian Pilgrim on Mount Tabor," *Journal of Theological Studies* 18 (1967), pp. 27-33, with translation of the text found in the 1859 Venice edition of the works attributed to Eghishē (by the given title), pp. 236-239. It is likely that such a description is in keeping with the requirements set in the *Progymnasmata*, the popular textbooks of rhetorical exercises in Late Antiquity, which included a section on descriptive writing.

<sup>17</sup> E.W. Brooks, "An Armenian Visitor to Jerusalem in the Seventh Century," *English Historical Review* 11 (1896), pp. 93-97, and R.N. Bain, "An Armenian Description of the Holy Places in the Seventh Century," *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Report* (1896), pp. 346-349, both with translation of the text found in Movsēs Kaghankat'uats'i, critical ed. by Varag Ařak'elyan, *Patmut'wn Aghuanits' Ashkharhi* (History of the [Caucasian] Albanians) (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1983), pp. 280-285; cf. C.J.F. Dowsett, *The History of the Caucasian Albanians by Movsēs Dasxuranc'i* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961).

<sup>18</sup> Critical text in Ařak'elyan, *Patmut'wn*, pp. 285-286. See the secondary sources in Hakob S. Anasian, *Haykakan matenagitut'yun* (Armenian Bibliology), 2 vols. (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1959-1976), 1:825-829, and Avedis K. Sanjian, "Anastas Vardapet's List of Armenian Monasteries in Seventh-Century Jerusalem: A Critical Examination," *Le Muséon* 82 (1968), pp. 265-292.

<sup>19</sup> This seventh-century account survives in two recensions, one shorter than the other. The shorter recension was first published by K.P. Patkanov, *Ananiayi Shirakunwoy mnats'ordk' banits'* (St. Petersburg: 'Kayserakan Chemaran Gitut'eants', 1877), pp. 1-4, then by Ghewond Alishan, *Hayapatum* (Venice: S. Ghazar, 1901), pp. 232-233, and is available in an English translation by F.C. Conybeare, "Ananias of Shirak: I. His Autobiography," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 6 (1897), pp. 572-574. The longer version was first published by Dashian, *Catalog der armenischen Handschriften*, pp. 174-76, then by A.G. Abrahamyan, *Anania Shirakats'oy matenagrut'yunē* (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences,

as Anania is often called, returned to his native country to teach. His journey to Jerusalem seems to strengthen the ascription of several religious compositions to him, such as *Chaṙ i Haytnut' iunn Tiaṙn* (Homily on the Lord's Epiphany) and *Chaṙ i Zatikn Tiaṙn* (Homily on the Lord's Easter),<sup>20</sup> and hymns on Pentecost and the Transfiguration, among others on the Prophets and the Apostles.<sup>21</sup> Equally noteworthy is the testimony of the chronographer Samuēl Anets'i (ca. 1100-1180) that mentions by name five pupils of Shirakats'i (Hermon, Trdat, Azaria, Ezeikiēl, and Kirakos) who left their renowned teacher, embraced Diophysite Christology, and resided in Jerusalem as ascetics or monks. Although there are five centuries between Anets'i and the reported event, he probably had at his disposal some documentary evidence for this somewhat specific piece of information—possibly obtained at Haghbat where he studied with great masters (Hovhannēs Sarkawag Vardapet and Gēorg Vardapet Uṙchets'i, later Bishop of Haghbat). Moreover, as a careful chronographer, Anets'i had thoroughly studied the chronological works of Shirakats'i, which he utilizes, and had researched the authorities behind the latter's primary sources, carefully identifying them all.<sup>22</sup> However late or dubious his testimony may be, the credentials of the source and the naming of the five should lend it some credibility. Shirakats'i complains in his "Autobiography" about students who were eager to leave his circle in order to teach prior to completing their course of study.

Much later documentary evidence for translational activity in Jerusalem has been drawn from an often copied colophon (with slight variations)

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1944), pp. 206-209, and is available in a French translation by H. Berbérian, "Autobiographie d'Anania Širakac'i," *REArm.*, n.s., I (1964), pp. 189-194; cf. P. Lemerle, "Note sur les données historiques de l'Autobiographie d'Anania de Shirak," *REArm.*, n.s., I (1964), pp. 195-202. The longer version is generally preferred. Further bibliography in Anasian, *Haykakan matenagitut'yun*, I:731-774.

<sup>20</sup> Both texts in Abrahamyan, *Matenagrut'yun*, pp. 283-291 and 292; English translation by F.C. Conybeare, "The Discourse of Ananias, Called the Counter upon the Epiphany of our Lord and Saviour," *The Expositor*, 5th series, 4 (1896), pp. 323-337; id., "Ananias of Shirak: II. Tract on Easter," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 6 (1897), pp. 574-584.

<sup>21</sup> *Sharakan hogewor ergots' surb ew ughghap'aṙ Ekeghets'woys Hayastaneayts'* (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1936), p. 5; cf. Anasian, *Haykakan matenagitut'yun*, pp. lxx-lxxiv.

<sup>22</sup> Arshak Tēr Mik'ēlian, ed., *Samuēli K'ahanayi Ants'ewoy Hawak'munk' i grots' patmagrats'* (The Compilation from the Books of Historians by the Priest Samuel Anets'i) (Vagharshapat: Mother See Press, 1893), pp. 84-85; A.G. Abrahamyan, "Samvel Anets'u tomarakan ew tiezerakan ashkhatutyunē" (The Chronological and Cosmological Works of Samuel Anets'i), *Ejmiats'in* 9 (1952:1), pp. 30-34.

from the year 869 or 879/880. The colophon in question pertains to the anonymous hagiography on the legendary life of St. Dionysius the Areopagite. One version has: "This history of St. Dionysius was translated from ancient Greek in the city Jerusalem, and the physician Hovhannēs translated [it] into ours; 318 by the Armenian reckoning [=869]." Another version has: "This history of St. Dionysius was translated in the holy city Jerusalem from lofty Greek, and the physician Hovhannēs translated [it] into ours; 329 of the Armenian era [=880]."<sup>23</sup> Still another has: "This history of St. Dionysius was translated in the holy city Jerusalem from Greek, and the physician Hohannēs translated [it] into ours; 328 of the Armenian era [=879]." On earlier translational work there, I agree with the following assessment by Stone: "it can be safely assumed that in fact such activity antedates these ninth-century references."<sup>24</sup>

To this period may belong a little-known author from Jerusalem: the hermit Grigor Sarkawagapet Erusaghēmats'i whose name we encounter among the panegyric compositions in medieval Armenian literature dedicated to St. Gregory the Illuminator.<sup>25</sup> His work is the earliest laudation of some length on the Illuminator by an Armenian author and it is not far removed from two such compositions traditionally attributed to St. John Chrysostom (ca. 350-407, or to his circle) that were translated into Armenian in the eleventh-twelfth centuries upon the request of Catholicos Grigor II Vkasasēr (in office 1065-1105).<sup>26</sup> Our author shows familiar-

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<sup>23</sup> The first two texts are quoted by Mkrtich' (Episkopos) Aghawnuni, *Miabank' ew ayts'eluk' Hay Erusaghēmi* (Members of the Brotherhood and Visitors in Armenian Jerusalem) (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1929), p. 354, following Zarp'analian, *Matenadaran Haykakan t'argmanut'eants' nakhneats'*, p. 382. The preferred text, however, is the third: that of Jerusalem manuscript 282, so in Hovsep'ian, *Hishatakarank' dzeṛagrats'*, no. 30 (cols. 81-82); also in Bogharian, *Grand Catalogue*, 2:99; cf. 1:30, 303, 458; 2:276 for the texts in manuscripts 1C, 97, 154D, 368. All these Jerusalem manuscripts have the year 879 in the often copied colophon. On the history of the Greek version, see Alexander Kazhdan and Nancy Patterson Sevcenko, "Dionysios the Areopagite," in Kazhdan et al., eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 1:629.

<sup>24</sup> Stone, "The Manuscript Library," p. 27.

<sup>25</sup> These works have been collected in the small yet celebrated *Sop'erk' Haykakank'* (Armenian Books) series; vol. IV: *Hovhannu Oskeberani ew Grigori Sarkawagapeti Nerbogheank' i S. Grigor Lusaworich'* (especially pp. 129-157), and vol. V: *Hovhannu Sarkawagay, Vardanay Bardzrberdts'woy, Hovhannu Erznkats'woy nerbogheank' i S. Grigor Lusaworich'* (Venice: S. Ghazar, 1853).

<sup>26</sup> The translation of the first of these two panegyrics (*Sop'erk'*, 4:5-87) was revised by Catholicos (St.) Nersēs Shnorhali (in office 1166-1173), according to a colophon by him at the end of the text. The full title of the translation suggests that it was written at Cucusa in Cilician Armenia, where Chrysostom was exiled in 404 and held there until he was deported to Pityus or Colchis on the Black Sea in 407 (he died en route at Comona in Pontus). There can be

ity with the life of St. Gregory as depicted in the *History of the Armenians* by Agathangelos—whether through a common tradition or through direct dependence on this fifth-century work.<sup>27</sup> Although the exact time of Grigor Sarkawagapet is unknown, the place of his writing is known to be Jerusalem. The full title of his work bears this clearly: *Grigori Sarkawagapeti ew chgnawori khosk' i S. Grigor Lusaworich' asats' eal i surb k'aghak'n Erusaghēm* (A Composition on St. Gregory the Illuminator by Grigor the Archdeacon and Hermit, Recited in the Holy City Jerusalem). The title, with such rare words as “Archdeacon” and “Hermit,” and the place of recitation or writing, suggests an early date for our author. Together, they seem to point to a period within Byzantine Jerusalem, possibly as far back as the sixth century.<sup>28</sup> He could well be the same person mentioned in the title of another work: *S. Grigori Sarkawagi Erusaghimats'oy Govest i Sb. Khach'n K'i. Ay. meroy* (A Panegyric on the Holy Cross of Christ our God by St. Grigor Sarkawag of Jerusalem). This work, however, belongs to St. Cyril of Alexandria,<sup>29</sup> yet it may have been translated by Grigor Sarkawag(apet) in Jerusalem, hence the erroneous ascription to him. The word “Saint” in this title is commensurate with the special terms in the previous title. And even if we allow for two individuals here by that name, this does not diminish the significance of the data for the general period (between the Byzantine dominance in the Holy Land and the coming of the Crusaders) and place of activity.<sup>30</sup>

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little or no doubt, however, that this panegyric on the Illuminator comes from a disciple of Chrysostom, perhaps a certain Theophilus. V kayasēr himself is the translator of the *Life of St. John Chrysostom* from Greek (*Patmut'iwn Varuts' . . . Surb Hovhannēs Oskeberan Hayrapetin Kostandnupolsoy: T'argm. i Hunakanē i Hays, i Grigorē Kat'ughikosē V kayasēr koch'ets'eloy* [Venice: S. Ghazar, 1751]).

<sup>27</sup> On the date of Agathangelos and his dependence on early fifth-century Armenian writers, see the introduction by Robert W. Thomson, *Agathangelos: History of the Armenians* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1976), pp. lxxv-xciii.

<sup>28</sup> So thinks (Hayr) Mik'ayēl (Vrt.) Ch'amch'iants' (K. Polsets'woy), *Patmutiwn Hayots'* (History of the Armenians), 3 vols. (Venice: S. Ghazar, 1786) 1:778. Manuk Abeghyan, *Hayots' hin grakanut'yan patmut'yun* (History of Ancient Armenian Literature), 2 vols. (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1944-1946) and N. Bogharian [Pogharian], *Hay groghner, E-Zhē dar* (Armenian Authors, V-XVII Centuries) (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1971) are silent about this virtually unknown author.

<sup>29</sup> Bogharian, *Grand Catalogue*, 1:13 (manuscript 1B); cf. p. 449 (manuscript 154C); 2:441 (manuscript 461).

<sup>30</sup> Aghawnuni, *Miabank' ew ays'eluk'*, pp. 93-94, lists them separately.

A noticeable period of Armenian literary activity in the Holy Land began immediately following the First Crusade (1099). Much of this revival is to be credited to the Armenian nobility in Jerusalem. Queen Arda, wife of Baldwin I, the first Latin King of Jerusalem (1100-1118), was the daughter of T'oros Ērubinian, the Armenian Prince of Edessa (Urfa). Several privileges were bestowed upon the local community through her beneficence. This state of affairs continued as another Armenian queen succeeded her: Morfia, wife of Baldwin II (1118-1131). This royal patronage, together with the relative proximity of Cilicia to Palestine, helped pave the way for a constant flow of learned clerics both from Armenia and Cilicia.<sup>31</sup> There were also occasional royal visits from Cilicia.<sup>32</sup> The hundreds of guest rooms at St. James enabled many of these

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<sup>31</sup> For the many clerics whose visits are documented in dedicatory colophons, inscriptions, and various registries at St. James, see Aghawnuni, *Miabank' ew ays't'eluk'*, passim, giving names with brief vitae alphabetically arranged, down to this century. It should be stated that not all persons mentioned in the present study are accounted for by Aghawnuni.

<sup>32</sup> That of King T'oros II (1145-1169) is recorded by Guillaume of Tyre, in *Guillaume de Tyre et ses continuateurs*, 2 vols. (Paris: Firmin Didot et cie, 1879) 2:289-291; that of King Het'um II (reigning intermittantly, 1289-1301), is recorded by Minas (H)amdets'i, in *Minas Vardapeti Hamdets'woy Azgabanut'iwn Hayots'* (Genealogy of the Armenians by Minas Hamdets'i) (Vagharshapat: Mother See Press, 1870), p. 45; and that of Queen Mariun, the widow of King Constantine (Guy or Gyd Lusignan) III (1343-1345), recorded in a colophon described further below. It is important to note that several of the most prized biblical manuscripts in Jerusalem are those which once belonged to members of the Cilician royal families. The colophons of these manuscripts are invaluable for the dynastic histories they contain. Jerusalem manuscript 1973, e.g., the personal Gospel of Queen Mariun, contains a colophon by the scribe, Bishop Nersēs (of Lambron), in which he claims to have copied it "from an original by the translators" (*i stoyg awrinakē t'argmanch'ats'n*), thus making the document particularly attractive for text-criticism. More importantly—from a historian's perspective—Nersēs spells out the close ties between Church and State and names every member of the royal family, both living and dead. The manuscript also contains a few representations of the Queen within the various scenes from the life of Christ, including an identified representation of her within the scene of the deposition of Christ from the cross (see the four reproductions in Narkiss, *Armenian Art Treasures*, pp. 85-88, nos. 108-111; Bogharian thinks the young princess represented in the scene of the Nativity is possibly Mariun's daughter PHEME, *Hay grich'ner [T'-Zhē dar]* [Armenian Scribes {IX-XVII Centuries}] [Jerusalem: Tparan Srbots' Hakobeants', 1992], p. 137). These illuminations on parchment, inserted within the Gospel on paper, are by the famed Sargis Pitsak and resemble other such royal representations in other royal manuscripts at St. James (cf. the Gospel manuscript of Queen Keran and others in Narkiss, *Armenian Art Treasures*, pp. 65-69). The widowed Queen Mariun came to Jerusalem following a brief captivity in Egypt after the fall of Sis in 1375 to the Mamluk viceroy of Aleppo and the imprisonment of the last king of the Armenians, Levon VI Lusignan (1374-1375), in Cairo. The death and burial of the Queen after three years' residence in Jerusalem is the subject of another, later colophon found in a Gospel manuscript of the year 1280

visitors to stay there for some time—some even for years.<sup>33</sup>

Foremost among these visitors are two of the four princely Pahlawuni heads of the Armenian Church: Catholicos Grigor II V kayasēr (in office 1065-1105) and his nephew, Catholicos Grigor III Pahlawuni (in office 1113-1166). The first came to Jerusalem in 1099, on the wake of the Crusaders' capture of the city, and the second in 1142 to attend an ecumenical council convened by the Roman Catholic Church (in the previous year he attended a similar council held in Antioch). A nephew of the latter, Catholicos Grigor IV Tghay (in office 1173-1193), wrote a lengthy *Lament over Jerusalem* (*Oghb Erusaghēmi*) upon the city's fall to Salāh ad-Dīn in 1187. Although there is no mention of his visit to Jerusalem, there is no good reason to rule out the possibility of him having been there. His sentiments for the city reflected in the *Lament* would almost certainly require that he had been there previously.<sup>34</sup> One of his close associates and relatives, from the same princely Pahlawuni family and a prolific writer, Archbishop Nersēs Lambronats'i (1153-1198), was in Jerusalem during the city's fall. His eyewitness account of the warfare and of the massacres that followed is found in a few manuscripts.<sup>35</sup> The literary involvements of the Pahlawuni heads of the Armenian Church and their literary patronage are too numerous to enumerate here. Jerusalem in the time of the Crusaders must have been a source of inspiration for them.

These prelates paved the way for countless clerics to follow in their footsteps. Among them was Vardan Vardapet Aygekts'i (ca. 1170-1235),

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and once owned by her husband, King Constantine III, and then given by the widowed Queen to a certain Vahram, the author of the colophon (the text of this colophon is published by Bogharian, *Hay grich'ner*, pp. 144-146, from a notebook by Catholicos Sahak Khapayan; Bogharian does not indicate the whereabouts of this Gospel manuscript). An ancient tombstone inscription marks her grave in the southwestern corner of the courtyard of the Sts. James Cathedral.

<sup>33</sup> A register in Jerusalem manuscript 1776 names the subdivisions of the monastery and enumerates more than three hundred guest rooms (pp. 68-101). Moreover, there were several Armenian monasteries not far from the Old City; for their history see Mkrtich' (Episkopos) Aghawnuni, *Haykakan hin vank'er ew ekeghets'iner Surb Erkrin mēj* (Ancient Armenian Monasteries and Churches in the Holy Land) (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1931).

<sup>34</sup> Another such lament over Jerusalem was written by Nersēs Vardapet Mokats'i during his stay at Jerusalem in 1609 (Venice manuscript 1624).

<sup>35</sup> Partial colophon in Aghawnuni, *Miabank' ew ays'eluk'*, pp. 396-397; see also the references there (those to Jerusalem manuscripts are either inaccurate or outdated; cf. manuscript 146, pp. 623-627, and *Grand Catalogue*, 1:418). Perhaps during an earlier visit, Lambronats'i likewise chronicled the 1178 Mamluk attacks on Jerusalem, under Yusuf; see Jerusalem manuscripts 2542 and 2546. For more on him, see (Archbishop) Mesrob Ashjian, *St. Nerses of Lambron: Champion of the Church Universal* (New York: Armenian Prelacy, 1993).

a noted homiletician who also composed a prayerbook while in Jerusalem (Jerusalem manuscript 1130; cf. 939, 1576, 1690).<sup>36</sup> The prayers, written to be read at various sacred sites, anticipate many such compositions in subsequent centuries and in various languages—most immediately by Catholicos Grigor VII Anawarzets'i (in office 1293-1307), who wrote meditations on the sacred sites in Jerusalem;<sup>37</sup> Bishop Nikoghayos Akhk'ermants'i, who in 1483 prepared a detailed list of the sacred sites to be visited;<sup>38</sup> and Eremia Ch'ēlēpi (1637-1695), the prolific chronicler of life in his native Constantinople, who also wrote meditations on the sacred sites during his visit in 1665.<sup>39</sup> While in Jerusalem, Aygekts'i apparently drew his inspiration for yet another work: an encomium dedicated to Sts. James and John, the sons of Zebedee, and the rest of the

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<sup>36</sup> *Aghōt'agirk' surb tegheats'* (A Prayerbook for the Holy Sites); for manuscripts with varying contents and early editions, see Bogharian, *Hay groghner*, p. 279.

<sup>37</sup> An incomplete work, Venice manuscript 742, pp. 100-109; see Bogharian, *Hay groghner*, p. 335.

<sup>38</sup> Published with an English translation by Ghewond Alishan, along with the earlier list of Armenian monasteries in the Holy Land by Anastas Vardapet, *Anastasay Vardapeti vasn vanorēits' Hayots' yErusaghēm'* (Anastas Vardapet on the Armenian Monasteries in Jerusalem) (Venice: S. Ghazar, 1896); Aghawnuni, *Miabank' ew ayts'eluk'*, p. 401.

<sup>39</sup> *Govabanut' iwn Tnōrinakan tegheats' yErusaghēm'* (Elegy on the Passion Sites in Jerusalem) (according to Vrej Nersessian, *Catalogue of Early Armenian Books, 1512-1850* [London: The British Library, 1980], p. 19, no copy of this privately published book survives, printed in Ch'ēlēpi's own press in Constantinople, 1677). On his visit Ch'ēlēpi must have donated to the local library several copies of his works, including his celebrated diary for the years 1648-1662; the history of the fires in 1660 that swept Constantinople, illustrated with illuminations; and his *Stampōlay Patmut' iwn* (History of Istanbul) in verse (V.H. T'orgomian, ed., 3 vols. [Vienna: Mkhit'arean Tparan, 1913-1938]). Cf. Simeon Dbir Lehats'i (1584-1637), who wrote on his travels through the Holy Land, including a description of the St. James brotherhood, the first of such travel accounts in Armenian literature; Bogharian, *Hay groghner*, pp. 512-514. A century after Ch'ēlēpi, a certain Archbishop Martiros wrote *Hfch'ak Erusaghēmi* (Laudation of Jerusalem) in verse, while at St. James, in 1773 (Nicosia manuscript 62). Early in the nineteenth century, Hovhannēs Kaṛnets'i (Nodar) wrote several poems on the holy sites (e.g., Jerusalem manuscript 1844, a miscellany of the year 1812, has one "On the Sea of Tiberias" written in 1805), published posthumously in *Tetrak govasanats'* (A Notebook of Praises) (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1914). A later and better representative of this tradition or genre of meditations in the Holy Land is the one by Catholicos Khirmian Hayrik (Mkrtich' I, in office 1893-1907) who on his visit to Jerusalem in 1850 wrote *Hrawirak Erkrin Aweteats'* (Invitation to the Promised Land) (Constantinople: Hovhannēs Miwhēntisian Press, 1851; reprinted with a new preface, Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1892); and in this century, writing in prose, Harut' iwn G. Mirmrian, *Aleluia yErusaghēm'* (Alleluia in Jerusalem) (Constantinople: Zardarian Gratun, 1903).

Apostles (Jerusalem manuscripts 1, 154). It should be noted that the Sts. James Cathedral marks the traditional site of the Apostolic Council held in Jerusalem under the leadership of St. James "the brother of the Lord" (Galatians 2:1-10; cf. Acts 15:1-20) and also the burial site of the head of St. James, the brother of St. John, beheaded by Herod Agrippa I (Acts 12:1-2). Such a place with its twin apostolic traditions must have had a great impact upon the author.

To be sure, very few of the numerous learned pilgrim-clerics in Jerusalem are known to have authored a work while there. Most are like Vardan Vardapet Arewelts'i (ca. 1200-1271) who, upon his return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1240, visited Cilicia and stayed at Hromklay for five years (1241-1246). There he became the most entrusted friend of Catholicos Kostandin I Bardzerberdts'i (in office 1221-1267) and was commissioned by King Het'um I (1226-1269) to write a grammar.<sup>40</sup> Vardan Arewelts'i also wrote another, shorter grammar upon the request of T'oros K'ahanay, the nephew of the Catholicos.<sup>41</sup> Such was also the experience of Arewelts'i's pupil, Hovhannēs Erznkats'i (ca. 1240-1293), as he declares in the "Preface" to his *Grammatical Interpretation* (*Meknut' iwn k'erakani*).<sup>42</sup> He had been on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the year 1281, and upon his return through Cilicia, Catholicos Hakob I Klayets'i (in office 1267-1286), nicknamed "Scholar" (*Gitnakan*) and known for his command of the Scriptures and patronage of learning, prevailed on him to teach grammar to fellow ecclesiastics and this led to the production of the book.

The most prominent of these pilgrim scholars is perhaps Grigor Tat'ewats'i (ca. 1344-1409), the renowned dean of the monastic school at Tat'ew, who was ordained as a priest in Jerusalem in 1371 by his mentor, the equally voluminous Hovhannēs Orotnets'i/Orbēlian (1315-1387). Another of Orotnets'i's pupils, Grigor Vardapet Khlats'i/Tserents' (ca. 1350-1425) spent three years in Jerusalem (1403-1405), where, upon his arrival, he completed his very contemporary *Patmut' iwn arshawanats' Lankt'amuri* (History of the Conquests of Tamerlane) in verse.<sup>43</sup> The inspiration such writers drew from Jerusalem for their subsequent works

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<sup>40</sup> Jerusalem manuscript 657, pp. 13-120; 857, pp. 243-316 (cf. Bogharian, *Hay groghner*, p. 296).

<sup>41</sup> Published by L.K. Khach'eryan in *Teghekgagir Haykakan Akademiayi* 2 (1943), cited by Bogharian; see the preceding note.

<sup>42</sup> Bogharian, *Grand Catalogue*, 4:552-555.

<sup>43</sup> See L.S. Khach'ikyan, *ZhE Dari Hayeren Dzeṛagreri Hishatakaranner* (Armenian Colophons of Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts), Pt. 1 (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1955), pp. 286-288.

could be documented to some extent; this, however, is beyond the limits of this paper. Suffice it to say that some of these pilgrim scholars must have left copies of their works in the local library, and subsequent copies were made there from these originals or near-originals.

Other writers could be mentioned: from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, T'adēos T'okhat'ets'i (ca. 1540-1602), the author of *Tagh i Tnōrēnut'iwinn Teařn* (Ode on the Passion of the Lord), describing the Easter celebrations at Jerusalem and dwelling on the festival of the Holy-Light;<sup>44</sup> Nersēs Vardapet Mokats'i (ca. 1575-1625) who on a visit in 1609 wrote his *Oghb vasn ařman Erusaghēmi* (Lament over the Fall of Jerusalem), *Nerboghean i P'okhumn Astuatsatsnin* (Panegyric on the Ascension of the Bearer of God) (later expanded by his pupil Step'anos Shatakhets'i), and possibly also his *Tagh G. Awur Paytsařakerput'ean* (Ode for the Third Day of the Transfiguration);<sup>45</sup> and Catholicos Movsēs III Tat'ewats'i (in office 1629-1633) who previously had spent five years in Jerusalem (1605-1611) and who is known for his hortatory pastorals and encyclicals.<sup>46</sup>

Jerusalem, however, was not without its native scholars in this period. To a certain Grigor Erusaghēmats'i (ca. 1200) is attributed the earliest Armenian glossary of philosophical terms and concepts: the *Sahmank'imastasirakank'* (Philological Definitions) in its earliest recension (a), preserved in the oldest surviving manuscript of this work, Erevan manuscript 6897 (dated 1317), folios 397v-410r.<sup>47</sup> In the crude compilation of this recension there is no alphabetical arrangement beyond the initial letter of the entries. In a later recension (b) represented in Jerusalem manuscript 1213 (dated 1635-1636), pp. 155-181, and showing a more refined alphabetical arrangement with some additional entries, we are apt to see the result of a redaction that could have been pursued in Jerusalem during the intervening years. The compiler's name was lost in the mean-

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<sup>44</sup> Partial text in Bogharian, *Hay groghner*, pp. 480-481.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 489-490; cf. the earlier *Lament over Jerusalem* by Catholicos Grigor IV Tghay (in office 1173-1193), written upon the city's fall to Salah ad-Dīn in 1187.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 508-511.

<sup>47</sup> For more on this glossary, see H.M. Amalyan, *Mijnadaryan Hayastani bařaranagrakan hushardzannerē* (The Lexicographical Masterpieces of Medieval Armenia), 2 vols. (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1966-1971) 1:166-179; especially p. 170. A. Terian, "A Medieval Armenian Glossary of Philosophical Terms and Concepts," in *International Symposium on Armenian Linguistics, Yerevan, 21-25 September, 1982: Reports*, ed. G.B. Djahukyan et al. (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1984), pp. 557-583; cf. Aghawnuni, *Miabank' ew ayts'eluk'*, pp. 74-75.

time. Consequently, several late manuscripts (including the Jerusalem manuscript) wrongly attribute the work to the Neoplatonist philosopher Dawit', whose *Sahmank' p' ilisop' ayakank'* (Definitions of Philosophy) bears close semblance to the title of the glossary, *Sahmank' imastasirakank'* (Philological Definitions); hence the confusion.

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Prominent scribes, who likewise came as pilgrims to Jerusalem, also stayed there for a while and contributed the fruit of their penmanship to the local churches besides doing so for their respective patrons. Some seventy scribes and/or illuminators are known by name during the most productive years of 1300-1600. To my knowledge, the earliest extant manuscript copied in Jerusalem is by the scribe and binder Hovhan, a collection of homilies (*Charentir*) of the year 1215 (Venice manuscript 204). In the colophon he refers to the Theotokos Church (*Surb Astuatsatsin*) built by Gēorg K'ahanay between Jerusalem and Bethlehem and the solitary life there of Gēorg's nephew, the recipient of the manuscript, the hermit Hovhannēs.<sup>48</sup> In the early fourteenth century codices were copied at a number of places in and around St. James, such as at the monastery (later convent) by the Church of the Holy Archangels, located within the walls near Zion Gate, and at the monastery by the Church of the Holy Savior, on the traditional Mount Zion outside Zion Gate and immediately south of the St. James compound. Sufficient data may be gathered from the published colophons of fourteenth-century manuscripts. In one such publication there are sixteen colophons from as many manuscripts penned in Jerusalem by fourteen different scribes.<sup>49</sup>

Foremost among these scribes is Step'anos Er kayn (active 1295-1327) who seems to have spent two terms in the Holy City—judging from the colophons of the seven surviving manuscripts by him. The first of these manuscripts was penned at the Monastery of the Illuminator on Mount Sepuh (1295), the next two at the Holy Archangels in Jerusalem (1314, 1316), the following two at Drazark (1318, 1321), the next one again at

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<sup>48</sup> Colophon in Hovsep'ian, *Hishatakarank' dze'agrats'*, no. 346; Aghawuni, *Miabank' ew ayts'eluk'*, pp. 347-348, and the references there; cf. p. 357, on the work of the scribe Hovhannēs Sanahnets'i in 1311. These manuscripts are not accounted for by Stone in his history of scribal activity in Jerusalem ("The Manuscript Library," pp. 27-28).

<sup>49</sup> Khach'ikyan, *ZhD Dari . . . Hishatakaranner*, pp. 168-169, 178-179, 244, 273-276, 291, 322, 395-397, 410, 431, 437, 447, 462, 473, 503-504, 542, 620.

Jerusalem, at St. James (1321/2), and the last again at Drazark (1327).<sup>50</sup> Another such scribe who made repeated visits to Jerusalem is Vardan Baberdt's'i or Ghrimet's'i (ca. 1310-1380). He was determined to return to Jerusalem after having made a pilgrimage from Ghrim, and following his return he spent twelve years at St. James and became a bishop (1363-1374). His colophons describe the hardships under the Mamluks (1365-1369), when the Frankish remnants were expelled from Jerusalem and their churches shut, including the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (the gate of which was walled for some time). Armenian clerics also were persecuted and some were "martyred" in 1367 (the colophons of Erevan manuscript 7091 and Jerusalem manuscript 122 are noteworthy).<sup>51</sup> A scribe named Manuēl praises the virtue of the Patriarch Basilios (in office 1341-1356) in a colophon of the year 1352, at the end of Erevan manuscript 2233, *K'arozgirk' Bart'oghimēosi* (The Preaching of Bartholomew).<sup>52</sup>

Step'anos K'ahanay, a little known scribe from the early fifteenth century, wrote an inspiring poem entitled *Govest Grk'oys* (In Praise of This Book) at the end of a local compilation of Biblical interpretations by Grigor Tat'ewats'i, in the year 1411 (Jerusalem manuscript 1128).<sup>53</sup> Ghazar Ghrimet's'i, a more prominent cleric and scribe (active 1419-1437), resided in Jerusalem for a while. One of the nine extant, massive codices by this attested teacher of calligraphy was copied at the scriptorium of Holy Savior monastery, in 1426 (Jerusalem manuscript 1988). The colophon of this Psalmody mentions a number of local persons who were in one way or another helpful in the production of the codex, beginning with the Bishop Melk'iset' who provided the material.<sup>54</sup> Another

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<sup>50</sup> Bogharian, *Hay grich'ner*, pp. 115-124, gives present-day locations of the seven manuscripts. Those of the years 1314 and 1316 have long been assumed to be the earliest dated manuscripts penned in Jerusalem (the first is manuscript 121 of the Lewis Collection in the Free Library of Philadelphia, and the second is Jerusalem manuscript 271).

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., pp. 163-174; cf. Vardan's colophons in Jerusalem manuscript 30 and Erevan manuscript 5557. Equally significant is the colophon of Venice manuscript 222, where the scribe Nersēs Krakts'i, writing in Jerusalem in 1335, describes the recent Mamluk invasion of Cilicia and the massacre and the exile of Armenians. He repeatedly expresses fear that the same might soon happen in Jerusalem, and he hopes against hope that there would be a Frankish intervention. His fears came true as the colophons by Vardan Baberdt's'i indicate. Cf. Jerusalem manuscript 282 for an earlier colophon (1331) by him (Bogharian, *Grand Catalogue*, 2:99-100).

<sup>52</sup> Khach'ikyan, *ZhD Dari . . . Hishatakaranner*, p. 396.

<sup>53</sup> Published by Bogharian, *Grand Catalogue*, 4:197-198.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., pp. 195-196; L.S. Khach'ikyan, *ZhE Dari Hayeren Dzeřagreni Hishatakaranner* (Armenian Colophons of Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts), Pt. 3 (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1967), p. 367.

contemporary cleric and scribe who stayed in Jerusalem for at least a couple of years is Grigor Ēlmēlik'ents' (active 1427-1441). Of the eight extant manuscripts by him, the last three were copied in Jerusalem during the years 1439-1441 (Ancyra manuscript 312, Antilias manuscript 84, and Venice manuscript 974).<sup>55</sup> Grigor was also an illuminator and binder of manuscripts. Three more scribes from the fifteenth century may be mentioned: T'adēos Kronawor or Sarkawag, the copyist of Jerusalem manuscript 2149, a Thesaurus (*Gandzgirk'*) of the year 1449 penned at Holy Savior,<sup>56</sup> and Aleppo manuscript 23, a Gospel copied partly in Jerusalem and partly at the hermitage of Mar Saba in the Judean desert;<sup>57</sup> Soghomon, a pilgrim scribe, is the copyist of a much prized Gospel of the year 1475 (Jerusalem manuscript 1943, with illuminations by a certain Hovhannēs);<sup>58</sup> and Martiros Pursats'i, Patriarch of Jerusalem (in office 1491-1501). On an earlier visit to the Holy City (1463-64) Martiros completed the copy and illumination of an equally prized Gospel (Jerusalem manuscript 2567) as well as the illumination of a Synaxarion (Jerusalem manuscript 27), both at Holy Savior.<sup>59</sup>

The scribes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are numerous, as are also the restorers of manuscripts during these centuries. The colophons by these restorers are no less significant than those by the original scribes, for they also recount contemporary events. Suffice it to mention five scribes and/or restorers from this period. Mik'ayēl K'ahanay was a talented poet besides being a scribe. Two of his poems, one in onomastic acrostics, appear at the end of a Prayerbook copied by him locally in 1583 (Jerusalem manuscript 1915).<sup>60</sup> Bishop Astuatsatur Taronts'i was active

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<sup>55</sup> Bogharian, *Hay grich'ner*, pp. 222-223.

<sup>56</sup> The end-gatherings of this manuscript contain a portion of the *Mystagogical Catecheses* attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem (bishop 349-386) and/or to his successor, John of Jerusalem (bishop 386-417). The text in three columns on four folia is in uncials (*erkat'agir*) and has been described briefly by Bogharian, *Grand Catalogue*, 7:201.

<sup>57</sup> Colophon provided by Aghawnuni, who also equates the identity of the scribe with that of the Jerusalem manuscript (*Miabank' ew ayts'eluk'*, pp. 148-149).

<sup>58</sup> Narkiss, *Armenian Art Treasures*, pp. 89, 94-95, 152; Bogharian, *Grand Catalogue*, 6:488-491.

<sup>59</sup> Bogharian, *Hay grich'ner*, p. 237.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. "Otanawor i veray eōt'ants' khorhrdots'" (A Poem on the Seven Sacraments) in onomastic acrostics by another local scribe, Esayi K'ahanay, in Jerusalem manuscript 58, p. 914b (at the end of a treatise entitled *Haghags eōt'n khorhrdots' ekeghets'woy* [On the Seven Sacraments of the Church] by Patriarch Hakob Nalian of Constantinople [in office 1741-1746, 1752-1764] and of Jerusalem [in office 1749-1751], copied in 1772); text in Bogharian, *Grand Catalogue*,

in Jerusalem during the years 1581-1594. Several colophons attribute to him the restoration of a number of manuscripts (chronologically: Jerusalem manuscripts 1784, 27, 1272, 1924, 265, 331, 1987, 332, 1339, 503, 345) and the penmanship of some others (Jerusalem manuscripts 1974 and 1597, both containing Psalms; cf. Erevan manuscript 2578, a miscellany compiled, in part, in Jerusalem).<sup>61</sup> And from the seventeenth century three more bear mentioning: Melk'iset' K'ahanay Mokats'i, active in Jerusalem from 1628-1635 (Jerusalem manuscripts 1567, 1576, 2672); his compatriot, Step'anos Erets' Mokats'i, active there from 1625-1639 (Jerusalem manuscripts 1483, 2381, 1567, 2352, 1733 [in Bethlehem], and Isfahan manuscript 514; thereafter, in 1641, we find Step'anos in Van: Jerusalem manuscript 1980); and Hovhannēs K'ahanay Khizants'i, a prolific scribe and illuminator, active in Jerusalem from 1625 until his death sometime after 1663 (Jerusalem manuscripts 2515, 1829, 1945, 2659, 1919, 2175, 2639, 2668, 1438, 984, 2651, 1549, 2103, 2608, 2613, 355, 2665, 15, 2596, 1403, 2652 [the latter four were penned in Bethlehem], and Erevan manuscript 1256).<sup>62</sup>

Later restorers have often used the blank folia of earlier manuscripts to chronicle contemporary events, such as in Jerusalem manuscript 1920 (a Lectionary of the year 1591, written locally). The restorer recounts a nighttime robbery of the monastery at Holy Savior, carried out by the nomadic Bedouins (p. 1208, dated 1692). In another, Jerusalem manuscript 251 (a Gospel of the year 1260, written in Hřomklay and illuminated by T'oros Roslin), a chronicler recounts on the final folio the manifold activities of the Patriarch Gregory VI, the Chain-bearer (in office 1715-1749; an obituary by the Patriarch's hand laments the loss of

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1:190.

<sup>61</sup> Bogharian, *Hay grich'ner*, pp. 249-253. A lesser contemporary was Martiros K'ahanay Khizants'i, the primary copyist of manuscript 1920, a Synaxarion of the year 1591. Bogharian mistakenly refers to the latter as Matt'ēos, p. 253.

<sup>62</sup> Five other manuscripts have reached us from his two visits to his native Khizan, in 1644 and 1649-1650 (Jerusalem manuscripts 2631, 1969, 2203, 2286, 3904); *ibid.*, pp. 336-341. Khizants'i seems to have followed in the footsteps of two earlier—though less prolific—scribes and illuminators from Khizan who preceded him to Jerusalem: Sargis K'ahanay Khizants'i (ca. 1500-1572), who left behind a colorful calendar of feasts or "Lesser Synaxarion" (*Tonats'oyts'*) penned and illumined at St. James (Jerusalem manuscript 2494); and Khach'atur K'ahanay Khizants'i (ca. 1552-1608) known for two codices completed at St. James: a miscellany (Aleppo manuscript 117) and a Synaxarion (Jerusalem manuscript 1920). For details, see N. Tsovakan (Archbishop N. Bogharian) *Hay nkaroghner (ZhA-ZhĒ dar)* (Armenian Illuminators [XI-XVII Centuries]) (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1989), pp. 145, 169; reprinted from *Sion* (1985-1989), *passim*.

his assistant and historian of the city, Bishop Hovhannēs [Hannē] Erusaghēmats'i, d. 1733; see manuscript 303; cf. manuscript 598 for another obituary of this distinguished man).<sup>63</sup> In yet another, Jerusalem manuscript 16 (a local Lectionary of ca. 1600), a lengthy colophon details down to the year 1838 the tension between the Armenian and the Greek Churches and the aftermath of the fire that devastated the Holy Sepulchre Church in 1808 (pp. 1310-1313).<sup>64</sup> The same colophon covers the 1831 political uprising that spread from Palestine to Transjordan and the efforts of Ibrahim Pasha in putting it down. Moreover, Jerusalem manuscript 83 (1821) gives a biographical history of the Ottoman Vezirs from the fourteenth century through much of the eighteenth (1785), leaving the reader curious about the earlier sources of this constantly updated history.<sup>65</sup> Jerusalem manuscript 3694 (1743-45) provides a local, monastic chronicle for the years 1743-1745.<sup>66</sup>

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The purpose of this paper was not simply to provide information, but to stimulate further interest in the resources at St. James. Because the brevity of the paper was one consideration in this survey, I have relegated considerable information to the notes. Also, in my coverage of the last centuries I have by no means exhausted the parade of learned clerics with some writing to their credit. Still, this part of the survey provides a fair sampling of the narrow range and limited variety of their contributions.

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<sup>63</sup> For more on Bishop Hannē's *Patmutiwn S. Erusaghēmi* (History of Holy Jerusalem) and its various editions, see Aghawnuni, *Miabank' ew ayts'eluk'*, pp. 358-359. Several of the paintings in the Sts. James Cathedral are the work of this much loved bishop.

<sup>64</sup> Bogharian, *Grand Catalogue*, 1:101-103; cf. T'adēos Tēr Astuatsaturian, *Nkaragir aghetiis' Erusaghēmi* (Description of the Calamities of Jerusalem) (for the full title and edition, see Aghawnuni, *Miabank' ew ayts'eluk'*, p. 148).

<sup>65</sup> Of special interest is the biography of the 74th Vezir, Ermēni Siwlēyman P'asha (in office 1654-1655; thereafter twice Mayor of Constantinople. Text provided in the *Grand Catalogue*, 1:272-273.

<sup>66</sup> Kevork Hintlian, *History of the Armenians in the Holy Land*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem: Armenian Patriarchate, 1989), pp. 61-62, invites attention to the several tombstone inscriptions at the Armenian cemetery on Mount Zion, by the old scriptorium at Holy Savior. Two of them are worth quoting: "Here rests / Ghevond of Van, the lover of letters, / The scribe / Who copied so many manuscripts / Both old and new; / Copied so many colophons. / And now, I left all these behind. / My love — manuscripts / I leave all these, O Father, / As my testament"; another has: "This is the refuge of the just. / Sing Alleluia / For the binder / Of holy books, / For the monk Mēkhit'ar."

The opposite is true, however, for the earlier centuries, where the writers considered are somewhat diverse and quite apart in time.

Beginning with the first document written in Jerusalem, we have seen how indirectly it invites attention to the fifth-century Armenian translation of the Lectionary which follows the early liturgical tradition in Jerusalem. Amidst the many pilgrim clerics, we have encountered a few local writers who with their works are seldom mentioned or anthologized. Notwithstanding their liturgical concerns, monastic accomplishments, and pilgrimages in the Byzantine period, the Cilician Kingdom provided the Armenians a wider door to the Holy Land, a door through which many more learned clerics came bearing their gifts of various sorts—both material and non-material. Unfortunately, however, there never developed a particular school of thought peculiar to Jerusalem except perhaps one to be noted for meditations on sacred sites, an appreciable literature in praise of the Holy City.

As indicated earlier, the earliest extant manuscript copied in Jerusalem is a collection of homilies (*Chařentir*) of the year 1215 (Venice manuscript 204), and it may well be the only surviving Armenian manuscript copied in thirteenth-century Jerusalem. Consequently, the literary environment that may have existed there before the fourteenth century cannot be reconstructed from an inventory of the kind of manuscripts copied locally. Moreover, most manuscripts include several works by different authors and writings that are often centuries apart; they could not always be an adequate representation of the intellectual environment that produced them. Nor could the relation between these writers be established in such a way as to show contact and continuity of thought. Most of the local writing was done because certain scribes or recipients preferred this or that work, mostly of restricted scope and use.

Nonetheless, there remain abundant resources, so long treasured at St. James, that have not as yet been fully considered when writing the history of the Armenian community in medieval Jerusalem.<sup>67</sup> The now complete *Grand Catalogue* of the St. James manuscripts collection provides much

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<sup>67</sup> The best available works, albeit rudimentary and all in Armenian, are: (Bishop) Astuatsatur Tēr Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iwn S. Erusaghēmi* (Chronological History of Holy Jerusalem), 2 vols. (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1890); Tigran Sawalanians', *Patmutiwn Erusaghēmi* (History of Jerusalem), 2 vols. (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1931); (Patriarch) Maghak'ia Ormanian, *Haykakan Erusaghēm: Nkaragir At'oroy Srbots' Hakobeants'* (Armenian Jerusalem: Description of the See of Sts. James) (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1931); and N. Tsovakian (Archbishop N. Bogharian), *Srbots' Hakobeants' Vank' (ZhD-ZhĒ Dar)* (Sts. James Monastery [XIV–XVIII Centuries]) (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1985); reprinted from *Sion* (1984), pp. 40–43, 86–90, 153–156, 219–222; (1985), pp. 45–48, 176–180.

of the necessary information for such an undertaking, not only for the history of the Armenian community in particular but also for some of the history of the entire medieval city of which the Armenian community had always been a substantial part.